

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 OSLO 01335 01 OF 02 281428Z

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 OMB-01 AID-20 DRC-01 /146 W

----- 123534

R 281113Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8016

INDO RUESFDQ/AMEMBASSY LISBON 252

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 1335

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS NO AO PU MZ EAID RH WA

SUBJ: NORWAY AND AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

REF: OSLO'S 886 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTRY'S UNDER SECRETARY ARNE ARNESEN BRIEFED CHARGE MARCH 26 ON HIS RECENT TWO WEEK TRIP TO AFRICA WHERE HE MET WITH VARIOUS LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THE ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF THE TRIP, TO IMPROVE NORWAY'S ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, WAS EXPANDED AT FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND'S REQUEST TO INCLUDE THE QUESTION OF GUINEA-BISSAU RECOGNITION. VARIOUS AID PROJECTS OF FRELIMO AND PAIGC ARE CURRENTLY BEING EXAMINED BY THE NORWEGIAN AID ORGANIZATION NORAD. ARNESEN SAID THAT NORDIC STATES WILL TRY TO PUSH PORTUGAL INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION

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PAGE 02 OSLO 01335 01 OF 02 281428Z

MOVEMENTS BEFORE DECIDING ON WHETHER TO

RECOGNIZE GUINEA-BISSAU. END SUMMARY.

1. ARNESEN MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF FRELIMO IN DAR ES SALAAM, MPLA IN LUSAKA, AND PAIGC IN CONAKRY. HE ALSO MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SWAPO (NAMIBIA) AND ZANU AND ZAPU (RHODESIA) LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN LUSAKA.

2. EACH OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAD BEEN ASKED TO PREPARE A LIST OF NON-MILITARY PROJECTS FOR POSSIBLE NORWEGIAN ASSISTANCE. (NORWAY IS CONCERNED HOW IT SPENDS 12 MILLION KRONER FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.) ARNESEN SAID THAT THE FOLLOWING MORE INTERESTING PROJECTS FROM THESE LISTS HAD BEEN GIVEN TO NORAD FOR STUDY:

A. FRELIMO

(I) PURCHASE OF CLOTHING, MEDICINES AND FOODS;  
(II) ASSISTANCE FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL AT BAGAMOYO IN TANZANIA ATTENDED BY CHILDREN OF DEAD OR LIVING FRELIMO MEMBERS;

B. MPLA

(I) FUNDING CONSTRUCTION OF HOSPITAL IN CONGO BRAZZAVILLE JOINTLY WITH THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES;  
(II) FUNDING CONSTRUCTION OF STORAGE FACILITIES IN DAR ES SALAAM;  
(III) FUNDING THE TRANSPORTATION OF NON-MILITARY GOODS FROM DAR TO LUSAKA.

C. PAIGC

(I) PURCHASE OF CLOTHING, MEDICINES AND FOOD;  
(II) PURCHASE OF TRACTORS AND BULLDOZERS;  
(III) FUNDING A PRE-FABRICATED HOSPITAL.

2. ARNESEN SAID HE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE WITH EACH OF THE ORGANIZATIONS. WHILE MPLA CLAIMED TO CONTROL A LARGE PART OF ANGOLA, ARNESEN UNDERSTOOD FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT THE FIGHT WAS "NOT GOING WELL." A FORTHCOMING UNITY CONFERENCE IS BADLY NEEDED SINCE THERE ARE THREE SEPARATE ORGANIZATIONS VYING FOR POWER AND THERE ARE  
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PAGE 03 OSLO 01335 01 OF 02 281428Z

TWO FACTIONS WITHIN THE MPLA ITSELF. MOREOVER, ZAMBIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD MPLA IS AMBIGUOUS WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA REPORTEDLY PREFERRING JIPENDA TO NETTO. ARNESEN SEEMED DEFENSIVE WHEN ASKED WHY NORWAY HAD CHOSEN TO DEAL WITH THE MPLA RATHER THAN WITH FNLA. HE SAID HE HAD IN FACT TRIED TO MEET WITH FNLA REPRESENTATIVE IN DAR BUT HE WAS AWAY AND THAT A NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE HAS BEEN

INSTRUCTED TO CONTACT FNLA TO DETERMINE WHAT IT WISHES  
IN THE WAY OF AID.

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PAGE 01 OSLO 01335 02 OF 02 281506Z

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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 OSLO 1335

3. BY CONTRAST, THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE  
APPEARS TO BE "GOING QUITE WELL," NOT ONLY ACCORDING TO  
FRELIMO BUT ALSO ACCORDING TO ZAMBIAN SOURCES.  
FRELIMO IS NOW ABLE TO ATTACK THE RAILROAD BETWEEN  
BEIRA AND CABARA BASSA, AND INTERPRETS THE TRANSFER  
OF PORTUGUESE TROOPS FROM ANGOLA TO MOZAMBIQUE  
AS A SIGN OF EFFECTIVENESS. FRELIMO CLAIMS TO CONTROL  
25 PERCENT OF MOZAMBIQUE INCLUDING TWO NORTHERN PROVINCES  
WHERE ITS ADMINISTRATION RUNS SCHOOLS, A HOSPITAL, ETC.

4. IN CONAKRY, PAIGC REPRESENTATIVES CLAIMED THEY  
CONTROL 72 PERCENT OF GUINEA-BISSAU. THEY SAY THEY ARE NOW  
ABLE TO CARRY OUT SABOTAGE OPERATIONS WITHIN BISSAU  
ITSELF AND THEY HAVE THEIR OWN ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY  
IN THE LIBERATED AREAS. THEY SHOWED ARNESEN WHAT WAS  
PURPORTEDLY A CAPTURED SECRET PORTUGUESE MAP SHOWING THE LIBER-

ATED AREAS AND AN ACCOMPANYING SECRET DOCUMENT DESCRIBING LIFE  
IN THOSE AREAS. HE COULD NOT VOUCH FOR THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE  
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PAGE 02 OSLO 01335 02 OF 02 281506Z

DOCUMENT BUT TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PORTUGUESE DOCUMENT  
PICTURED LIFE AS BEING FAIRLY NORMAL IN THE LIBERATED  
AREAS, WITH PRODUCTION INCREASING, ETC. PAIGC CLAIMED  
THAT THE CIRCLES MARKED ON THE MAP COINCIDED FAIRLY  
ACCURATELY WITH THEIR OWN ESTIMATE OF THE LIBERATED  
AREAS.

5. ARNESEN MET WITH PAIGC LEADERS LUIS CABRAL (BROTHER  
OF AMILCAR), VASCO CABRAL (NO RELATION), WHO IS MINISTER OF  
FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING, AND FOREIGN MINISTER  
VICTOR MARIA. HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE REAL  
PAIGC LEADER NOW IS ARISTIDES PEREIRA, BASED ON WHAT  
HE HEARD AND THE PRECEDENCE APPARENTLY GIVEN PEREIRA  
IN THE CEREMONY ESTABLISHING THE "GOVERNMENT OF  
GUINEA-BISSAU." SHOWN ARNESEN ON FILM. WHILE LUIS  
CABRAL IS A VERY NICE AND GENTLE PERSON HE CLEARLY  
LACKS THE LEADERSHIP QUALITIES OF HIS MURDERED BROTHER.  
ARNESEN FOUND VASCO CABRAL, WITH WHOM HE DEALT ON  
AID QUESTIONS, BOTH LIKABLE AND KNOWLEDGABLE.

6. PAIGC PRESSED FOR NORDIC RECOGNITION SAYING IT  
WOULD GIVE THE MOVEMENT A REAL POLITICAL BOOST. BY  
CONTRAST, FRELIMO SAID THAT IT HAS NO PLANS FOR  
ESTABLISHING AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT UNTIL IT HAS  
EXTENDED THE AREA UNDER ITS CONTROL. ARNESEN SAID  
HE EXPLAINED NORWEGIAN POLICY TO THE PAIGC LEADERS,  
INCLUDING THE FACT THAT NORWAY WILL NOT RECOGNIZE  
GUINEA-BISSAU UNTIL THE PAIGC CONTROLS THE MAJORITY  
OF THE COUNTRY AND UNTIL AN EFFORT IS MADE  
TO GET PORTUGAL TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS. PAIGC OFFICIALS SAID THAT THEY WERE QUITE PREPARED  
TO NEGOTIATE PROVIDED THE PORTUGUESE DEALT WITH THEM  
DIRECTLY, BUT THEY HELD LITTLE HOPE THAT PORTUGAL  
WILL AGREE. THEY MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD  
NOT COMPROMISE ON THE GOAL OF INDEPENDENCE. THEY WERE  
QUITE PREPARED, HOWEVER, TO DISCUSS THE MODALITIES  
AND STAGES LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE. THEY SAID THAT  
THEY WERE AWARE OF GENERAL SPINOLA'S IDEAS ABOUT  
AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE BUT THAT THEY HAD NO CONFIDENCE  
IN HIM; HE IS NO DEGAULLE PREPARED TO PROMOTE  
INDEPENDENCE AND MOREOVER, WAS BEHIND THE MURDER OF  
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PAGE 03 OSLO 01335 02 OF 02 281506Z

AMILCAR CABRAL.

7. ARNESEN CONCLUDED BY GIVING HIS INTUITIVE IMPRESSIONS OF THE PAIGC LEADERS. THEY REMINDED HIM OF THE ALGERIANS WHOM HE HAD MET WHEN HE WAS STATIONED IN RABAT AND ACCREDITED TO ALGERIA (1964-66). HE HAD BEEN SURPRISED BY ALGERIA'S STRONG TIES TO FRANCE AFTER INDEPENDENCE. SIMILARLY HE WAS STRUCK BY PAIGC'S DEEP PORTUGUESE ROOTS. WHILE VASCO CABRAL SPENT SIX YEARS IN PRISON, HE ALSO RECEIVED HIS DOCTORATE IN ECONOMICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LISBON AND CLAIMED THAT HE STILL HAD MANY SCHOOL FRIENDS WITH HIGH POSITIONS IN THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT. WE KNOW, HE SAID, THAT PORTUGAL HAS VERY DEEP ROOTS IN AFRICA AND WE WOULD PLAN TO RESPECT THIS AFTER INDEPENDENCE.  
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## Message Attributes

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